

Rural Migrant Workers' Integration into City under the Reform of Household Registration (*Hukou*) System in China---A Case Study of Zhenjiang City

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ABSTRACT

The *hukou* (household registration) system plays an important role in China' s internal migration process. It divides Chinese people into rural (agricultural) *hukou* holders and urban (non-agricultural) *hukou* holders. Public services and social welfare are provided based on *hukou* status, those rural migrants who move to urban area for better job and more fortune but still keep their rural *hukou* status have no equal access to public services and social welfare that provided to urban *hukou* holders. Chinese governments carry out a series of reforms on *hukou* system aiming to enable more migrants convert to urban *hukou* and obtain the equal rights in the city as existing residents.

Integration, a key concept to describe the experiences of migrants in the other culture and other society, has a different meaning under the context of China. The most effective way for rural migrant workers in China to achieve integration into the urban society is converting to urban *hukou*.

So this study mainly aims at examining the effect of current *Hukou* reform on promoting rural migrant workers to achieve equal rights in the city by using Zhenjiang City as a case study. The result of statistical analysis indicates that under the more relaxed *hukou* policy, most respondents are not willing to convert to urban *hukou*. Their age, education, origin, housing type and farmland compensation are significantly correlated with their participation intentions in *Hukou* reform. The in-depth interview reveals that *Hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City has limited effect on rural migrant workers.

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Introduction

Since the opening-up policy in 1978, China has experienced dramatic transformations. The rapid economic development and urbanization stimulates massive internal migration in the country. These migrants mainly migrate from rural area to urban area, and from small towns and small cities to big cities aiming to make more money and live a better life in the city. At the same time, they have made tremendous contributions to rapid economic growth. From 1978 to 1995, they had made 16 percent to the China's economic growth (The World Bank, 1996). And from 1978 to 1999, they had contributed almost 21 percent of the country's GDP and 75 percent of the urbanization growth (Cai & Wang, 1999). However, most of these migrants still have little or even no access to public services and social welfare that provided by the urban area though some of them have been working and living in cities for many years (Fan, 2002; Solinger, 1999). Wang (2006) concluded the situation that migrant workers live and work in the city but do not integrate to the social, institutional and cultural systems of the city as the "semi-integration". Integration is an important concept that used to describe the experiences of migrants in the other culture or other society (Alba & Nee, 1997). Considering the poor situation of most migrant workers in China --- their little access to public services and social welfare in the city, the household registration (*hukou*) system is thought to be the main factor that results in their predicament in the city (Sammy, 2009).

Different from other registration systems around the world, *hukou* system in China classifies its people into rural (agricultural) *hukou* holders and urban (non-agricultural) *hukou* holders. During the planned economy period of China, from 1949 to 1978, people were not allowed to freely migrate under the *hukou* system. Migration was mainly planned by the government and by the Department of Labor (Si, 2001). For example, people had no right to choose the workplace outside their hometown and they could not change their jobs individually. They had obtained the approval from the government first. Since the opening-up policy, China reforms the *hukou* system continuously in order to attract enough labor for the development and provide equal rights to these rural migrant workers. The central government has set out the vision for the 2014 *Hukou* reform, but the progress is still slow. Theoretically, even though the reform is still carried out “orderly” with different requirements in cities in different sizes and at different development level, the relaxed policy still could provide more opportunities for rural migrant workers to achieve the full citizenship when compared with former policies. But the questions here are to what extent the current reform could help rural migrant workers convert to urban *hukou* and more importantly, whether rural migrant workers could obtain same rights in the city as those urban residents.

The objective of my study is to examine whether the *Hukou* reform could make rural migrant workers obtain equal access to public services and social welfare as urban residents in the city. In this study, I use Zhenjiang City as a case study. Zhenjiang City is

a medium-sized city in Jiangsu Province in Eastern China. I focus on Zhenjiang City mainly for two reasons. First, large amount of researches have been done indicating that large cities have stricter requirements on *hukou* converting and small cities are not attractive to rural migrant workers to convert *hukou*. Few researches have paid much attention to *Hukou* reform in the medium-sized city. The second but more important reason is that Zhenjiang City is a pioneer in *Hukou* reform in the country. Part of the reform policies announced nationwide recently on August 2014 is similar to the policies that have been implemented by Zhenjiang City since 2003. But I would argue that the *Hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City has limited effect on rural migrant workers. I draw upon a questionnaire and conduct in-depth interviews to analyze whether rural migrant workers are more willing to convert their *hukou* and what kind of life experience they have in the city.

In the following, I first give a brief introduction of *hukou* system in China and the predicament that rural migrant workers face in cities. Then I analyze the *Hukou* reform policies both in the state government level and policies in local level. I review the literature on integration theory with a focus on research about internal migration in China. After describing the survey and interview, the most salient results will test my argument.

Research Background

- Establishment of household registration (*hukou*) system in China

The household registration (*hukou*) system was formally established in 1958, less than ten years after the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded. Every Chinese is listed in this system with rural or urban *hukou* and also the exact location of the *hukou* (Sammy, 2009). The *hukou* registration information with both *hukou* status (*hukou leibie*) and residential location (*hukou suozaidi*) is listed in the *hukou* book, and this book is kept by every household. *Hukou* status--- rural (agricultural) or urban (non-agricultural) *hukou*, is used by the government to distribute state subsidized goods and other privileges. Public Security Bureaus strictly controlled the internal migration and it was impossible for people to freely migrate, especially impossible to migrate from rural area to urban area, unless official approval was obtained.

The *hukou* system was initially designed to promote the development of heavy industry after the establishment of the PRC (Lv, 2012). Later on, the “agricultural ” and “non-agricultural” classification had no necessary relationship to the peoples’ real occupations, but strongly related to the socio-economic eligibility in the country (Jiang, 2002). The central government monopolized the important goods and resources and it was the only authority to distribute goods and privileges. The government entitled these based on the rural (agricultural) and urban (non-agricultural) classification. Subsidized public services and social welfare were provided to urban *hukou* holders in quotas. While those agricultural *hukou* holders had no access to low-priced food, guaranteed employment, subsidized housing, qualified education for their children and so on.

Agricultural lands were the only life guarantee that assigned by government to rural *hukou* holders.

- Predicament of rural migrant workers in China

The disparity between rural *hukou* holders and urban *hukou* holders becomes more and more salient since larger amount of rural migrants flood to the city. In 2013, there were 269 million rural migrant workers around the whole country, which is almost the 1/6 of the whole population (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The volume of this rural-urban migration is considered as the largest internal migration in human history (Chan, 2013).

According to the 2012 Investigational and Monitoring Report of Chinese Migrant Workers (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012), the majority of rural migrant workers were employed in manufacturing, construction and service industries. Most of them could only work in these labor-intensive sectors because decent jobs like civil servants were usually provided to people with local urban *hukou*. Significantly, most of them still work with no contract and were not entitled to any form of social security (Guha, 2011). In 2012, only 14.3 percent of rural migrant workers received retirement benefits, 24 percent received work-related injury insurance, 16.9 percent received medical insurance and 8.4 percent received unemployment insurance (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). And more than 40 percent of rural migrant workers were not provided with housing or housing subsidies.

They did not have equal access to public services in the city and what's worse they may have to pay extra fees like temporary population administration fee or education supporting fee to the city administration, which doubled their living cost in the city (Guha, 2011).

- Reform of *hukou* system by central government

The large-scale urbanization after the opening-up policy required huge amount of labor so that controls over labor mobility have been gradually relaxed to meet the demands of labor. The first time that rural people were allowed to stay and sell their farm produce outside their hometown was in 1983, when No.1 Central Document was released (Cai & Wang, 2008). It pointed out that “In rural area, combination of capital, technology, certain degree of mobility of labor force and other ways is allowed” (Communist Party of China, 1983). In the mid-1980s, rural migrants were allowed to work in enterprises and run their business in cities with an identity that they were self-sufficient in staple foods (*zilikouliang*) (Wu, Zhang & Chen, 2009). While in some big cities, the local government launched the so-called “blue-stamp” *hukou* schemes to allow migration of preferred group of migrants. For example, those who invested in local business or bought the apartment in city could be issued with “blue-stamp” *hukou*.

The year 1997 marked that the new level of *Hukou* reform. Under the policies approved by the State Council, rural *hukou* holders could obtain an urban *hukou* if he had a stable

source of income and a fixed place for residence. Until 2002, this policy began to be widely implemented in the country but mainly in small towns and small cities.

On July 2014, a new wave of *Hukou* reform unveiled. Approved by the state government and reported by the CCTV (2014), the predominant state television broadcaster in mainland China that “under the plan, China will fully remove household restrictions in towns and small cities, gradually ease restrictions in mid-sized cities, and set reasonable conditions for settling in big cities, while strictly controlling the population in megacities.”

The policy announced was criticized for its confusion and ambiguity since it did not set the specific standards on to what degree the restrictions could ease. The government remained cautious to the reform and took “orderly” policies at different level of cities that large cities set stricter restrictions than small cities. One significant progress for *Hukou* reform in 2014 was the suggestion that cancelling the division of agricultural and non-agricultural *hukou* within the city level. That is to say, people from urban area or rural area of the same city are both registered in their *hukou* book as resident *hukou* rather than urban *hukou* or agricultural *hukou*. This action aims to eliminate the disparity between the urban area and rural area of the small city. But the effects still need time to test.

- Local level policies and implications

The local level policy is always another big concern for *Hukou* reform. Since local

governments have to bear most of the cost for reform, so cities with different sizes and at different development levels are allowed by the central government to set different requirements based on local situations. For small towns and small cities, the government provides limited employments, public services and social welfare for their citizens, so these cities will not attract huge amount of new people in (Table 1). The relaxation of *hukou* policy in these cities will not produce too much pressure on local government (Wang & Cai, 2008).

For medium-sized cities, the government could provide certain level of services and welfare to their citizens. But from development perspective, they want to take more rural migrant worker. So they would rather gradually relax the requirements and then attract more migrants. For large-, extra large- or super large- sized cities, like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, they have more employment opportunities, more comprehensive social welfare system, and better public services. These benefits attract numerous migrants from rural areas and from small cities. At the same time, local governments have to confront huge pressure from their own economic capacity that whether they could afford more new residents. Zhengzhou, the provincial capital of Henan Province in China, relaxed the *hukou* policy in 2003 and then attracted too many people from other places. In the following year, the government announced to cease the relaxation plan for the heavy economic burden. So for these big cities, the government tends to set stricter entry criteria

on converting to urban *hukou* aiming to preserving migration control power while only allowing desirable migrants for the city development.

Table 1. Benefits provided and attractiveness of cities			
City Type	Population*	Public services provided	Attractiveness to migrants
Super large-sized city	>10 million	Comprehensive public services and social welfare system	High
Extra large-sized city	5 to 10 million		
Large-sized city	1 to 5 million		
Medium-sized city	0.5 to 1 million	Necessitated services provided	Moderate
Small-sized city	< 0.5 million	Few, market- oriented	Low

*The calculation of population is based on the permanent residents. Three categories of people could be registered as permanent residents: 1. Residing in the townships, towns and street communities with permanent household registration there or household registration unsettled; 2. Residing in townships, towns and street Communities, with permanent household registration elsewhere, having been away from that places for more than 6 months; 3. with household registration there, but leaving the registration for less than half a year or studying abroad.

Source: The State Council, (2014), "Notice of the State Council on Adjusting the Standards for Categorizing City Size"

Wang, M. & Cai, F. (2008). History and prospects of household registration system reform. Guangdong Social Science, 6:19-26

Literature Review

● International studies on integration

The research on migration and integration as a sociological discipline begin in the 1920s and 1930s. Integration of migrants is usually understood as the process of immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). It is considered that if this process succeeds, then the society is integrated. The integration theory is a significant indicator to describe immigrants' experience in the other society or other culture. The classical integration theory claims that at last immigrants will be integrated into the host society economically, socially, and culturally (Alba & Nee, 1997).

Two alternative frameworks of integration emerge to adjust to the diversified and complex migration phenomenon. Multiculturalism is recommended as a new model since the large-scale immigration into Europe. It represents a rejection of assimilation, which is understood that migrants have to discard their own values and adapt to other society (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Multiculturalism accepts differences among different people and different culture. The other alternative framework is segmented integration, which means immigrants integrate into the marginalized subcultures rather than the core culture of the society (Portes & Zou, 1993).

Ways to measure the integration are varied due to the different understanding of scholars. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) comprehend integration in four forms: structural integration, cultural integration, interactive and identificational integration. Structural integration refers to the acquisition of rights and the access to position and status in the other society. This is thought to be the fundamental aspect of integration and usually employment, education, housing and welfare status can be used as indicators to measure. Cultural integration indicates an individual's change in behavior and attitude. Interactive integration indicates immigrants are included in the primary relationships and social networks. And for this aspect of integration, social networks, friendships, partnerships and marriages are used as indicators. Identificational integration is considered as the most difficult level of integration that people have a sense of themselves being connected to the other society. Different from this classification, Algan et al. (2012) analyzes

integration into economic, legal, political and social integration. Though integration is interpreted into different dimensions and measured by different indicators, these aspects are not mutually exclusive. Among these broad set of indicators, employment, income and education are thought of paramount significance for the reason that acquisition of this level of integration will help to achieve other forms of integration (Alba & Nee, 1997).

- Studies on Chinese internal migration

Most international researches of integration theory are concentrated on immigrants while few on internal migrants. Though the experience of immigrants may not be directly relevant to the internal migrants, Wang and Fan (2012) think the integration theory could also be used to rural migrant workers in China. They examine how institutional barriers, especially *hukou* system, affect the integration of rural migrant workers in Chinese cities. They evaluate integration from three levels --- economic, social/ cultural and identity integration by using indexes that similar to those used in the study of immigrants' integration. *Hukou* system remains the biggest barrier for migrant workers in their study. Also Zhu (2007), Zhang and Wang (2010) conclude that *hukou* system together with the converting requirements is the main factor that undermines rural migrant workers' integration in China. Besides Zhang (2002) argues that the full integration, which represents granting of full urban residence status, is significantly correlated with the successful completion of converting rural *hukou* to urban *hukou*. Compared with the

international studies on immigrants' integration, converting *hukou* process is considered at the structural integration level. Generally speaking, converting to urban *hukou* enables rural migrant workers to gain the equal access to rights and social welfare that as same as the original urban *hukou* holders. The acquisition of this level integration is fundamental but can help to achieve other integration in China. So under the context of China, the integration stresses more on *hukou* converting and equal rights in the city.

Currently, many research in China concern the *Hukou* reform issue and focus on different aspects. One main trend is examining the effectiveness of the policy by comparing and analyzing the relaxation of *hukou* policy. Scholars like Ban and Zhu (2000), examine the *Hukou* reform policy chronologically. They reveal that though the reforms make progress since the opening up policy, until now the result is still very limited. The reform that only focuses on small towns and small cities is not effective since these areas are not attractive enough to migrant workers. Wu, Zhang and Chen (2010) examine the relaxation policy by analyzing the requirements for converting *hukou* in cities in different size categories. Through the statistical analysis, they conclude that the *Hukou* system will still greatly impede the free migration and the reform process remains slow. The reform does not really concerned about the distribution of public services and social welfare that attached to the *hukou* status while focusing on the converting criteria to welcome those migrants the government welcomed.

Rural migrant workers' participation in the *Hukou* reform and the impacting factors are another research theme. Fan's (2012) and Wen's (2002) studies shows that the majority of rural migrant workers does not intent to stay in cities permanently and they are not enthusiastic about converting to urban *hukou*. Demographic characteristics like gender, age and educational attainment are studied as possible factors that affect their participation intentions. Findings about gender imply the relationship between gender and settlement intention is not statistically significant. But most studies show a tendency that women are more likely to stay in city than men (Wei & Zhang, 2008;). As for age, younger migrants are found more likely to stay in the city than older migrants (Zeng & Qin, 2003; Xia, 2010). The findings on marital status vary greatly. But studies on whether they have spouse or family members also living in the city have a more unified finding ---- migrant workers are more willing to settle down in city when their family members also live here (Cai & Xu, 2009; Zeng & Qin, 2003). Most studies on education entitlement (Wu & Zhang, 2008; Xia, 2010) indicate that migrants with higher levels of education have stronger intention to participate in than those with lower education.

Economic situation of rural migrant workers is also studied as possible factors. Regarding employment conditions, studies show that longer time since they leave their origins or longer time that they have worked in other city is related to a stronger intention to stay in the city (Yin & Ma, 2012; Yao, 2009). As to the occupation categories, the findings are not clear-cut. But income is measured and indicates a positive correlation with their

participation intentions (Xiong & Shi, 2009). Migrants with better housing conditions, like owning their houses in city or renting houses by themselves in city are more likely to convert *hukou*. Also housing is the basic requirement in *hukou* converting policies so those with inferior housing condition are not eligible to convert *hukou* (Wang, Shen & Liu, 2008).

For the public services and social welfare provided by local government, the findings are mixed and complicated. Well- provided public services would greatly increase the likelihood to convert *hukou*, especially for large cities. But still many studies indicate that the high cost is the main reason for rural migrant workers not attending the social insurance scheme. For them converting *hukou* would likely lead to higher insurance costs, unaffordable to them, so they would rather keep their rural *hukou* status and receive welfares provided by rural area.

Farmlands, the unique welfare provided by government for peasants' livelihood in China, now constitutes a negative factor in promoting the *hukou* reform. More and more studies (Yin & Ma, 2012) show that rural migrants would rather keep their rural *hukou* status and also their farmlands. On the one hand, they could live a self-sufficient life on their farmlands. And on the other hand, they could possibly get land compensation once the government acquired their farmlands for urban development.

Converting *hukou* is widely studied as the most important aspect of obtaining the equal access to the rights in the city. Compared with the international studies on different levels

of integration, few studies in China focus on deeper level of integration. Wang, Shen & Liu (2008) study in the deeper level of cultural and indentificational integration. For the interactive integration, they use the change of job, contact with locals and the next-generation's adaptation as indicators. And they also use the data for participating the work union and the communist party as indexes of public participation. The physical gaps are easier to change while psychological barriers are generally difficult to overcome. Here indentificational integration is thought to be the deepest level of integration---whether rural migrant workers feel they are locals now. Wang, Shen & Liu's (2008) results show that rural migrant workers in Shanghai have achieved a higher level of integration than expectation. But for the politic integration, the participation level is still very low.

Methodology and Case Selection

- Why choose Zhenjiang City

Zhenjiang City is a medium-sized city in Jiangsu Province based on the new “Standards for Categorizing City Sizes” in 2014 (UUPC¹, 2014). The total permanent residents in 2014 calculated by Zhejiang Statistics Bureau was 1.2 million² (Zhenjiang Statistics Bureau, 2014). There are 6 medium-sized cities out of 57 in Jiangsu Province. Zhenjiang

¹ UUPC: Urbanization and Urban Rural Planning Research Center of Jiangsu

² The method used for calculating population varied in the city-level statistics bureau and provincial level statistics bureau.

City is one of the two medium-sized city in the Yangtze River Delta Metropolitan Area.



Fig1. Location of Zhenjiang City

Fig2. The Yangtze River Delta metropolitan area

Source: Created by author, National Administrative Boundaries shapefile

By September 2014, there were 0.38 million migrant workers in Zhenjiang City (Zhenjiang Public Security Bureau, 2014). I choose Zhenjiang City as a case study mainly for two reasons. First, I have impressed by the predicament of rural migrant workers in this city. Second, Zhenjiang City has been a pioneer in *Hukou* reform as it took the initiative to unify the urban *hukou* and rural *hukou* as resident *hukou* within the city in 2003. While this policy was just announced by the State of Government in 2014 as mentioned in the background. Since then, Zhenjiang City relaxed the policy ahead the pace of the state.

Before 2000, the *Hukou* reform policies in Zhenjiang City were implemented corresponded to the central government policy. From 2003, Zhenjiang City, together with

other cities of Jiangsu Province, pioneered in *Hukou* reform by replacing urban and rural registration with unified resident registration. This action was thought as big process in *Hukou* reform aiming to erase the difference between urban and rural residents in Zhenjiang City. In 2014 Zhenjiang city relaxed the policies to include more rural *hukou* holders. Instead of using quota that certain people could get the urban *hukou*, applicants only need legal and stable job and residence to apply for an urban *hukou* in Zhenjiang. “Legal and stable job” meant traditional fixed job, or the job with labor contract, or job with a business license, or stable income. “Legal and stable residence” included the house purchased, self-built, inherited or the affordable housing provided by government. There was no requirement on the participation of social insurance scheme and no requirement of the area of housing. The criteria were lower than the central government policy that “medium-sized city has to gradually ease restrictions” and similar to the policy in small cities. As to the rural migrants from Zhenjiang rural area, only “legal and stable residence” was needed. The reform policies in Zhenjiang City created a more welcoming environment for rural migrant workers to convert *hukou* and settle down in the city.

● Research Design

But in fact, will rural migrant workers really benefit from the current *Hukou* reform and have the equal access to public services and social welfare as urban residents in the city? In this study, I argue that the *Hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City is just a paper work and

could not help rural migrant workers to obtain equal rights in the city. I apply mixed methods, using both statistical analysis and qualitative analysis to verify the actual effectiveness of the *Hukou* reform.

The research is designed into two levels. The major part is to examine to what extent rural migrant workers in Zhenjiang City are able and willing to convert to urban *hukou*. Then a supplement analysis on their experiences in the city is based on in-depth interviews.

● Variable Selection and Data Collection

The statistical model aims at examine whether rural migrant workers are willing to participate in the *Hukou* reform and the impacting factors. Based on previous studies mentioned in the literature review, no universal cadre exists that could be used to measure their participation intentions. Since demographic, social, and institutional characteristics are all considered related to converting process, it is impossible to set the absolutely unified measurements. In this study, I apply three sets of variables that could be quantified and also with data achievable. The dependent variable is participation intentions in *Hukou* reform and the results are willing to participate in or not willing to. Since the results of dependent are only yes or no, the logistic regression is chosen for analyzing.

Logistic regression is a nonlinear regression model that forces the predicted values to be

either 0 or 1. Formally, the logistic regression model is that

$$p = \frac{\exp(Z)}{1 + \exp(Z)}$$

p is the probability that event happens, Z is the linear combination of x_1, x_2 to x_n .

$$Z = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_p x_p = \alpha + \sum_{p=1}^n \beta_p x_p$$

$$\text{Logit}(p) = \ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = \alpha + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \dots + \beta_p x_p$$

Here x_1, x_2 to x_n are possible impacting factors that affect rural migrant workers' intentions. The demographic variables selected are gender, age, education and family size; the economical indicator is only monthly salary and housing types; the indicators for social welfare are participation in rural insurance scheme, participation in employment insurance scheme. The possible farmland compensation is also included in the social welfare set.

● Data collection

Mixed methods, both questionnaire and in-depth interview are applied to collect data. The data collected from survey will be used for both quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. The choice questions in the questionnaire mainly include the data that needed for the quantitative analysis and it takes about five minutes to answer. Open questions for in-depth interview cover several cover five specific questions that could indicate their intentions to participate in the reform and possible reasons. The information for the

deeper level of integration like cultural and identificational aspects is also organized in the interviews³.

I used the Zhenjiang rural migrant workers' statistical data in 2013 (Zhenjiang Public Security Bureau, 2014) to construct the sample frame (Table 2), focusing on major sectors that rural migrant workers worked in Zhenjiang City: manufacturing, construction and business.

Table2. Occupation Share in ZJ		
Occupation	Number	%
Manufacturing & office	249,000	66.4%
Construction	66,000	17.6%
Investment & Business	19,000	5.2%
Service	6,000	1.6%

Source: Zhenjiang Public Security Bureau

Since manufacturing and construction employ a large number of workers and have comparatively concentrated workplaces,

sampling sites are randomly selected in the city. I randomly selected two manufacturing factories and three construction sites and no more than 20 rural migrants were surveyed in each site. As to the sites other than manufacturing and construction, I randomly selected rural migrant workers in the city, mainly on street or in small stores. The occupation distribution of total 100 questionnaires was based on the each occupation share calculated by the Zhenjiang Public Security Bureau. The valid response with every question answered was 73. Although the sample is small due to limited funds and limited availability of enterprises and individuals, the overall characteristics of respondents are in line with the official statistic data.

The questionnaires were conducted during the lunchtime of rural migrant workers and

³ Questionnaire and interview questions are attached in Appendix both in English and local language.

most of them were not willing to fill the questionnaire by themselves. So the actual implementation of questionnaire was organized into a chat form and I derived the answer to questions from the chat. I got the approval from the managers before the survey to conduct the in-depth interview with workers for 5 to 30 minutes each. If they were willing to, the in-depth interview would continue after they finished the questionnaire. Still some were not willing to answer all the questions and some responded with an irrelevant answer to the question. That's why the total number of valid questionnaires is only 73 out of 100. But the benefits of taking this form for questionnaire is that I get more detailed information about their subjective opinions and about everyone's unique experience, which will be a great help for understanding specific situations.

Besides the questionnaire, another three interviews was done with key informants and each was about one hour in length. One was with Mr. Jin from the Public Security Bureau in Zhenjiang City. He is in charge of the policy making for *Hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City. And another two were with the managers in manufacturing factory and construction site that I surveyed. The interview with the government official provides insights on the government views while the managers could offer the general information about rural migrant workers they hire, which are helpful for me to deepen the understanding of my study.

Analysis and Research Findings

● Descriptive analysis of the questionnaire

Table 3. Occupation share of respondents (Total 73)		
Occupation	Count	%
Manufacturing worker	21	29.2%
Construction workers	17	23.6%
Business owners	12	16.7%
Company staff	9	12.5%
Service staff	6	8.3%
Others	4	5.6%
Vendor	3	4.2%
Total	73	100.0%

The total 100 questionnaires were conducted according to the rural migrant workers' occupation share in the whole city (Table 2), while at last the completed

questionnaire is 73. The proportion of occupation share in this study is shown in Table 3.

Table 4. Intentions to participate in the <i>Hukou</i> reform (Total 73)		
Occupation	Yes	No
Manufacturing worker	10	11
Construction worker	1	16
Business owners	6	6
Company staff	1	8
Service staff	1	5
Others	1	3
Vendor	1	2
Total	52	21
Proportion	71.2%	28.8%

The results of the questionnaire are so contradictory to what reform policies has envisaged (Table 4). Among the 73 completed surveys, only 28.8 percent

respondents would like to participate in the reform while 71.2 percent are not willing to.

This result is consistent with my argument and makes me more doubt about the effectiveness of the reform policy. Among all these occupations, business owners have the highest ratio that willing to convert *hukou* while construction workers have the lowest ratio.

Table 5. Demographic characters of respondents (Total 73)			
Variable	Option	Count	%
Gender	Male	41	56.2%
	Female	32	43.8%
Age	18-25	12	16.4%
	25-30	11	15.1%
	30-40	19	26.0%
	40-50	20	27.4%

	>50	11	15.1%
Education	Below or equal to primary	14	19.2%
	Middle school	18	24.7%
	High school	29	39.7%
	University	12	16.4%
	Master and above	0	0.0%
Family size	1	30	41.1%
	2	10	13.7%
	>=3	33	45.2%
Stay time	Less than 1 year	15	20.5%
	1-3 year	33	45.2%
	3-6 year	13	17.8%
	More than 6 year	12	16.4%
Origins	Zhenjiang rural area	14	19.2%
	Other cities	59	80.8%

Table 5 concludes the basic information about these respondents. The distribution of gender and age of respondents are quite even. But the education level exceeds expectations. 56.1 percent respondents have achieved high school or more than high school education while the data

provided by the Public Security Bureau of Zhenjiang City was only 26.0 percent.

Possibly the small sample size causes this result. Usually people who work in company and own their businesses have higher average education level than construction workers.

Another possible reason is that the new generation of rural migrant workers (born after 1980) do have a higher average education level than the old generation as the 2013 national rural migrant workers' report suggested. 41.1 percent respondents work in city by themselves while 58.9 percent work here with their families. And 45.2 percent respondents work there with both their partners and children.

Among these respondents, 65.7 percent respondents work in city less than three years.

This result is related to their occupations since different occupations vary in mobility.

Generally, the construction workers have greater mobility that usually they have to move to other places for new construction projects. As to those who have stayed in Zhenjiang City for more than 6 years, on the whole they are older than those who just come for less

than three years. Among all respondents, most respondents come from other cities while only 19.2 percent is from the rural area of Zhenjiang City.

Table 6. Economical Characteristics of Respondents (Total 73)			
Variable	Option	Count	%
Income (RMB/month)	Less than 2000	13	17.8%
	2000-3000	30	41.1%
	3000-4000	20	27.4%
	More than 4000	11	15.1%
Housing Type	Own house in ZJ rural area	6	8.2%
	Dormitory	16	21.9%
	Rent with others	3	4.1%
	Rent by self	25	34.2%
	Own house in ZJ city	23	31.5%

Table 6 shows that most rural migrant workers earn 2,000 to 3,000 RMB monthly. The average income for all respondents is lower than the 4,832 RMB --- the average income for urban area

residents in Zhenjiang City (Zhenjiang Statistics Bureau, 2014). This is a quite common phenomenon for the majority rural migrant workers working in cities around the whole country. Housing as the most basic guarantee for rural migrant workers' lives in the city varies a lot among the respondents. Still six respondents work in the city but live in rural area. The possible reason is that the rural area where their farmhouses locate in not far from city core, so they are able to commute to work everyday. 21.9 percent respondents are living in dormitory and most of them work on construction and manufacturing. Another two main housing types are renting house by themselves and owning apartments. The proportion of self-owned houses exceeds the expectation quite a lot. But it could be explained under the context of Zhenjiang City. The housing price in Zhenjiang is much lower than the price of the surrounding big cities, especially in several years ago. For the rural migrant workers who have moved to Zhenjiang City many years ago possibly could afford an apartment here.

Table 7. Social welfare (Total 73)			
	Option	Num	%
Rural insurance scheme	Yes	27	37.0%
	No	46	63.0%
Employment insurance scheme	Yes	32	43.8%
	No	41	56.2%
Agricultural Land Compensation	Have	33	45.2%
	Possible have	27	37.0%
	Don't have	13	17.8%

Among all the respondents, 37.0 percent respondents have attended the rural insurance scheme and 43.8 percent have

attended the employment insurance scheme (Table 7). Since the rural insurance scheme and employment insurance scheme are not compatible, so there are total 59 people have either rural insurance or employment insurance while 14 people have no social insurance. Rural insurance scheme is optional for people with rural *hukou* status to attend. Employment insurance scheme is mandatory for full-time workers in the formal sectors and it is not bound to *hukou* status. So for these 14 people, they may either who are not willing to attend any insurance scheme or who are hired by informal sectors that escape the mandatory requirements illegally. But 43.8 percent participation in employment insurance scheme is higher than the average proportion mentioned by 2012 Investigational and Monitoring Report of Chinese Migrant Workers (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013) with only 14.3 percent received retirement benefits and 16.9 percent received medical insurance. This indicates that rural migrant workers in Zhenjiang City receive wider coverage of social insurance than the national average level. In this study, nearly half of the respondents consider they would have farmland compensation via keeping rural *hukou* status. Only 17.8 percent respondents think there would not be compensation. Their judgments were mainly based on the future development plans in their original places. Those who came from remote and undeveloped area possibly would

not gain land compensation, at least during their lifetime.

- Statistical analysis

Table 8 shows the variables and each measurement

Table 8. Variables and Measurement		
Type	Name	Description
Dependent	<i>Hukou</i> converting intention (W)	Yes=1; no=0
Independent	Demographic	
	Gender (GENDER)	Male=1; female=0
	Age (AGE)	18-25=1; 25-30=2;30-40=3;40-50=4;above 50=5
	Education (EDU)	Less or equal to primary school=1; middle school=2;high school=3; undergraduate=4; master or above=5
	Family Size/children or not (F-SIZE)	1=1; 2=2; 3=3; equal or more than 4=4
	Staying Time (S-TIME)	Less than 1=1; 1-3=2;3-6=3; above 6=4
	Origins (ORIGIN)	Zhenjiang rural area=0;other cities=1
	Economical	
	Income/month (INCOME) <RMB>	Less or equal to 2000=1; 2000-3000=2; 3000-4000=3;above 4000=4
	House Type (HOUSE)	Own house in rural area=1; dormitory=2; rent with others=3; rent by self=4;own house in rural area=5; own house in urban area=6
	Social Welfare	
	Rural insurance (R-INSURANCE)	Yes=1; no=0
	Employment insurance (E-INSURANCE)	Yes=1; no=0
	Farmland Compensation (LAND)	Have=1;possible have=2;don't have=3

Table 9 shows the results of the logistic regression that built by Stata 13.0

Logistic regression			Number of obs	=	73	
			LR chi2(11)	=	39.55	
			Prob > chi2	=	0	
Log likelihood = -24.029283			Pseudo R2	=	0.4514	
W	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf.	Interval]
GENDER	-1.06951	0.8548321	-1.25	0.211	-2.744951	0.6059297
AGE	-1.270621	0.7424503	-1.71	0.087*	-2.725797	0.1845551
EDU	-1.738119	0.8238131	-2.11	0.035**	-3.352763	-0.1234753
F-SIZE	0.6707281	0.7727115	0.87	0.385	-0.8437586	2.185215
S-TIME	-0.705017	0.6636002	-1.06	0.288	-2.005649	0.5956156
ORIGIN	4.248621	2.191626	1.94	0.053*	-0.0468879	8.54413
INCOME	0.4926146	0.6543216	0.75	0.452	-0.7898322	1.775061
R-INSURANCE	-1.064696	1.105432	-0.96	0.335	-3.231303	1.10191
E-INSURANCE	-0.9739666	1.049754	-0.93	0.354	-3.031446	1.083513
HOUSE	1.863873	0.6675102	2.79	0.005***	0.5555772	3.172169
LAND	1.54999	0.6295404	2.46	0.014**	0.3161133	2.783866
cons	-5.755588	3.349252	-1.72	0.086	-12.32	0.8088251

From the results of logistic regression, education is significantly related to the converting intentions at 95 % confidence level, and interestingly, with a negative coefficient. This is contradictory to the findings of previous studies. In this study, better- educated migrants are less willing to convert *Hukou*. Generally, better-educated migrants are more familiar with the policy and savvier at weighing the benefits. Their unwillingness to convert *hukou* to Zhenjiang makes me to think about maybe this is due to the reform policy or the other reasons. It is possible that the benefits provided by the city are not attractive to them just as those small cities.

Housing type has the most significant relationship to the converting intentions. And the result is reasonable that those who have their own houses in the city have a stronger intention to convert their *hukou*. Owning a house in a place will cost more than rent houses and this also indicates that they tend to settle down in the city. Meanwhile, migrants with better housing conditions are easier to convert *hukou* since they meet with the requirements of *hukou* policy that “has legal and stable residence”. On the contrary, for those who live in company dormitory, they are not qualified to the basic requirements of converting *hukou*.

The result also proves the significance of farmland on rural migrant workers’ decisions. Farmland compensation has a correlation with participation intentions at the 95% confidence level. Different from other countries, farmlands are provided by the government to rural *hukou* holders as a life guarantee. Rural *hukou* holders could

cultivate these lands and also trade their products on the market. But they could sell these agricultural lands by themselves since in China all lands belong to the country and they just has the user right on the farmlands. Before the rapid urbanization, rural migrants who were heading to the city for better job would sacrifice their farmland. But now the development of the city need more lands so the government would like and has the ability to acquire their farmland with reasonable compensation. Especially when more and more urgent demands for development land, the compensation becomes more profitable for rural *hukou* holders. So in recent years, farmland becomes an important issue on both the land reform and *hukou* reform in China. So those who think they would get the farmland compensation would rather keep their rural *hukou* status. And in fact, farmland compensation is also one of the incentives for some urban *hukou* holders converting to rural *hukou*.

Another statistically significant variable is origin at 90% confidence level. Rural migrant workers from other cities are much more willing to convert *hukou* than workers from Zhenjiang rural area. Nearly all of the migrant workers that come from Zhenjiang rural area are not willing to participate the *Hukou* reform. On the one hand, it could be resulted by the incomplete sample since only 14 workers from Zhenjiang rural area were surveyed. On the other hand, possibly it could be the positive result of the 2003 *Hukou* reform that replacing urban and rural registration with unified resident *hukou* decreases the disparity

of urban area and rural area. Possibly most services rural migrant workers receive or the benefits they get are at the same level with urban residents.

Age is significantly related to the participation intention at 90% confidence level and this is consistent with the previous study that younger migrants would rather live in cities than older migrants.

The results of other variables are not significant. The negative coefficient of gender still could indicate the findings of previous studies that women are more willing to convert *hukou* and stay in cities. Participation of rural insurance scheme and employment insurance scheme shows a negative coefficient with the participation intentions though not statistically significant. Urban resident insurance scheme, another insurance that is only provided to the urban *hukou* holders in city, together with rural insurance scheme and employment insurance scheme, constitutes the social insurance system in China. Every one is only allowed to attend one of these three insurance schemes. Urban resident insurance is one of the most attractive benefit that government provided to attract more people willing to convert their rural *hukou*. In this study, those who have already attended rural insurance scheme and employment insurance tend not to convert to urban *hukou*.

Converting to urban *hukou* is the most important aspect for rural migrant workers to achieve the equal rights in the city and integrate to the urban society. However, under the relaxed *hukou* policy in Zhenjiang City, the majority of respondents are not willing to participate in the reform. The logistic regression has verified several factors that affect

their decisions and their unwillingness to participate in the reform indicates that the *Hukou* reform is not conducive to migrants to achieve equal rights in the city.

- Qualitative analysis

The logistic regression has proved several factors that impact their converting intentions. And the in-depth interviews provide more detailed information on why they are not willing to convert *hukou*. 35 respondents answered the five open questions (See Appendix) in detail after the questionnaire and each interview took about half an hour. Their responses are consistent with the significant factors that indicated by the regression. For those better-educated migrants, they are not willing to convert *hukou* as they think Zhenjiang City is not economically attractive enough. And if possible, they would go to bigger cities for better development, like Nanjing, Suzhou and Shanghai near Zhenjiang City. Zhenjiang City is within the most prosperous area of the Yangtze River Delta, the surrounding cities like Shanghai and Nanjing have more strong economy power and could provide bigger space for individual development. Also these better-educated respondents do not think the Zhenjiang City has carry out effective strategies to keep migrants stay in the city. But for those older migrants, their reason for unwilling to convert *hukou* is also consistent with the previous studies explained. They consider that possibly they could not afford the live expenses in the city once they can not work due to the older age. Another consideration for them is their farmlands. Some older respondents

planed to go back to their hometown when they were not able to work anymore. They still could make a sufficient life on their farmlands, but if they are live in city, they have to pay for everything. For part of the respondents, both young and old, they would like to keep their rural *hukou* status for the farmland compensation and they did not plan to live in their homes in rural area.

From the occupation perspective, construction workers showed a strong tendency not willing to convert *hukou*. This is related to the high mobility character of their works and most construction workers answered that where was the project, where they were. They work hard in the city for making more money and they would bring the money they earn back to their hometown rather than spending in the city.

For most of them, *Hukou* reform does not include their considerations, and it is impossible for them to convert their *hukou* status. As to the small part that were willing to convert *hukou* saying that they would settle down in Zhenjiang City and a local identity was better. The answers of the question that “What kind of person do you think you are in the city?” indicates that most respondents thought they were still outsiders in the city. A respondent (male, 18-25, company staff) answered that “I don’t have the urban *hukou* here and I still belong to where I was born. But once I successfully convert to urban *hukou*, I will feel better. You know, not for someone would judge you, just my own feelings”. We have to say that the division of rural and urban *hukou* ingrained in their minds. This makes the effective *Hukou* reform a more urgent issue.

And in fact, these rural migrants do have been differently treated in the city due to their rural *hukou* status. The interview shows that half of the respondents have ever been differently treated, mainly in job hunting and children education. Nowadays, there are fewer positions with definite requirement on urban *hukou* status, but the rural *hukou* status still exists as an invisible barrier when employers select the perfect person for the position. Before 2013, Children of rural migrant workers from other provinces (rather than Jiangsu Province) could not attend the university entrance exam in Zhenjiang City, and these children had to go back to their original places for the exam. From 2013, if these children has finished the high school education in Zhenjiang City and their parents have the stable jobs and stable housing in the city, they could attend the exam in Zhenjiang City. Interestingly, no respondent complained about the different treatments in social insurance scheme. They do not think the urban resident insurance with the better service plan is suitable for them. Their major consideration is the high cost they have to pay before enjoying the medical care and pension. A respondent (male, 40-50, construction worker) answered, “I think rural insurance scheme is better than urban resident insurance scheme. I only have to pay 980 RMB for rural insurance scheme per year while have to pay almost 3000 RMB for urban resident insurance scheme if I attend. Also I’m rarely sick so the rural insurance scheme is enough for me”. Rural migrant workers are also rational economic man who pursues the benefits most. Their unwillingness to convert their *hukou* indicates the benefits provided by the Zhenjiang

City are not enough to them. They care the economical benefits more than their identity in the city.

Younger respondents and those have been in the city for many years responded they were accustomed to the life in Zhenjiang. But those new and older migrants encounter problems since it is hard for them to adjust to the city life. One older construction worker responded that he seldom wandered in the city by himself. And what he did for his non-working time periods was staying in the dormitory and playing cards with other workers. I also tried to ask them whether they participated in the campaigns or activities held by their workspace, community or the city, most of them doesn't care about this situation.

Overall, the interview indicates that the *hukou* division remains an insurmountable obstacle to rural migrant workers and the *Hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City has changed little on their all levels of integration.

- Limitations of study

There are still many aspects that need to study further. Due to the limited funds and the short survey time periods, the effective data and information got are limited. In order to better illustrate the question, mixed methods are used in this study. I applied the statistic model to analyze the related factors and case- by- case study to study deeper about their experiences in the city. But more data and information is still necessary. For the statistic model, indicators varied greatly and no unified standard could be built. And for the case-

by- case study, the results could not be applied to other cities since samples in this study may be not representative in other studies. But the mixed methodology still could be suggested to study the similar topics in other cities.

Conclusion and Recommendations

For the rural migrant workers in China, the most important aspect of integration is to obtain the equal access to the public services and social welfare as urban residents. And the most direct and efficient way to achieve this is through converting to urban *hukou*. The Zhenjiang City relaxes the *hukou* policy to create a more welcoming environment for more migrant workers to convert *hukou*. But the result of the study indicates that the relaxed policy doesn't attract rural migrant workers and most of them would rather keep their rural *hukou* status. Contrary to most previous study, the better-educated rural migrant workers have a lower likelihood to convert *hukou* than those less educated. Also farmland is a big consideration in Zhenjiang City's case, which is consistent to the recent studies. The unwillingness to give up the land contrasts to how many social benefits the Zhenjiang City could provide to its citizens. The fact here is that the benefit provided by the city does not outweigh the benefits by keeping rural *hukou* status. The origins and housing conditions also significantly affect their converting intentions. It is still hard to see the political integration since the public participation in China is not widely popularized. As to the deeper level of integration to city, migrants with longer living

period adjusted better than new comers. But *Hukou* status is still the biggest barrier for their deeper level of integration.

The rural-urban migration is an inevitable trend in China's development. Among this process, the integration of rural migrant workers is the key to promote the healthy development. Until now, *hukou* system still significantly impedes the integration process. The Zhenjiang City's case shows the effect of *Hukou* reform is limited. Though rural migrant workers in Zhenjiang City realize the negative influence of keeping their rural *hukou* status, they still do not think it is worthwhile to convert their *hukou*. Their deeper integration is also restricted by their *hukou* status and their unwillingness to convert *hukou*.

In order to put forward the *hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City, it is for sure that government should consider those impacting factors, like how to deal with the farmlands of these migrants and how to provide better housing. By including what these rural migrants concern, the reform would make process. Also the city should enhance its attractiveness both from economy development and social development in order to attract more better educated migrants to settle down in the city.

Current research focus more on the *Hukou* reform in big cities and the reform in small towns and small cities. In general, researches on big cities shows a tendency that big cities still have to set strict criteria and take a orderly open up policy. And most studies on small-cities indicate that the open policy with nearly no requirements on converting

hukou in fact contributes little to the urbanization process and there are not so many rural migrant workers as expected that willing to convert their *hukou* to these cities. The Zhenjiang City's case shows that at least in this medium-sized city, the *Hukou* reform policy has limited effects. It is possible that the problem presented in Zhenjiang City also exist in other cities in China. And the bold assumption is that now even the middle-sized cities are not attractive to rural migrant workers as small towns and small-sized cities. So the suggestion that "gradually ease restrictions in mid-sized cities" announced by the state government in 2014 possible have no substantial influence on the most rural migrant workers.

It's of great importance for the government and scholars to examine the effectiveness of reform policies and focus more on the medium-sized cities. It is inevitable for China to take an orderly reform on cities in different size categories, but they have to think about whether the focus on small towns and small cities would make progress. It is possible that the breakthrough of *Hukou* reform would from at least the medium-sized cities.

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Appendix

● Questionnaire in English

Questionnaire

Dear friends,

Hello! To further understand the impact of *hukou* reform in Zhenjiang City, carrying this research is of great importance. This questionnaire is anonymous and is a purely academic research. Any information that relates to your privacy will be fully and strictly confidential. There is no right or wrong answers to these questions, so please answer this based on facts. Thank you for your support and cooperation.

Part1. Basic Information

1-1. Where are you from?

A. Rural areas of Zhenjiang City C. Other cities

1-2.How old are you?

A. 18-25 B. 25-30 C. 30-40 D.40-50 E. Older than 50

1-3.What level of education do you achieve?

A. Less or equal to primary school B. Middle school C. High school D. University or above E. Graduate or above

1-4. How many people of your family living here?

A.1 B.2 C.3 D. More than 3

1-5. How long have you been working in Zhenjiang?

A. Less than one year B. 1-3 years C. 3-6 years D. More than 6 years

1-6.What is your occupation?

A. Construction worker B. Service staff C. Vender D. Manufacturing worker E. Company staff F. Business owner E. Other

1-7. What is your monthly income on average (RMB)?

A. Less than 2000 B.2000-3000 C.3000-4000 D. More than 4000

1-8.Where do you reside?

A. House in Zhenjiang rural area B. Company dormitory C. Shared rent apartment D. Rent apartment by self E. Own house in city

1-9. What kind of social insurance scheme do you participate in?

A. Rural insurance scheme B. Employment insurance scheme C. None

1-10. Will you have farmland compensation in your hometown?

A. Have B. Possibly have C. Don't have

Part2. Open Questions

2-1. Why are you willing or not willing to convert to urban hukou?

2-2. Have you ever been treated differently due to your rural hukou status?

2-3. Are you accustomed to the life in the city and to what degree?

2-4. How often do you participate in the campaigns organized by neighborhoods committee, company, or city government?

2-5. What kind of person do you think you are in the city? Why?

● Questionnaire in Local Language

调查问卷

尊敬的朋友：

您好！为了进一步了解镇江户籍改革的影响，特开展此次调研。本问卷属无记名问卷，是纯学术性调研，涉及到您的隐私我们将完全、严格保密。问题的回答没有对错之分，请您如实回答。谢谢您的支持和合作。

一、您个人的基本信息

1-1. 您来自

A. 镇江农村 B. 其他市

1-2. 您今年多大

A. 18-25 岁 B. 25-30 岁 C. 30-40 岁 D. 40-50 岁 E. 50 岁以上

1-3. 您的教育水平

A. 小学及小学以下 B. 初中 C. 高中 D. 大学 E. 研究生及以上

1-4. 您家庭中在此务工人员数？

A. 1 B. 2 C. 3 D. 3 人以上

1-5. 您在镇江务工多久？

A. 少于 1 年 B. 1-3 年 C. 3-6 年 D. 大于 6 年

1-6. 您现在所从事的工作:

A.建筑工人 B 服务员 C.工厂员工 D.公司员工 E.做小生意等自谋职业 F..其它

1-7. 您目前的月平均收入:

A.2000 元及以下 B.2000—3000 元 C.3000-4000 D.4000 元以上

1-8. 您在镇江的居住条件:

A.住农村老家 B. 单位宿舍 C.与人合租 D.自己租房 E.自己买房住

1-9. 您拥有的社会保险是:

A. 农村保险 B. 职工保险 C. 什么保险都没有

1-10. 您在老家的土地会有补偿吗?

A. 有 B.可能有 C.没有

二、表述题

2-1. 你为什么愿意或者不愿意转户口?

2-2. 你是否因为你的农村户口受被不一样的对待?

2-3. 你是否适应城市生活, 适应到什么程度?

2-4. 你多久参加居委会, 公司或者政府部门组织的活动? 比如投票选举?

2-5. 你觉着你在城市中属于哪种人? 城里人? 农村人? 城市边缘居民? 说不清楚?